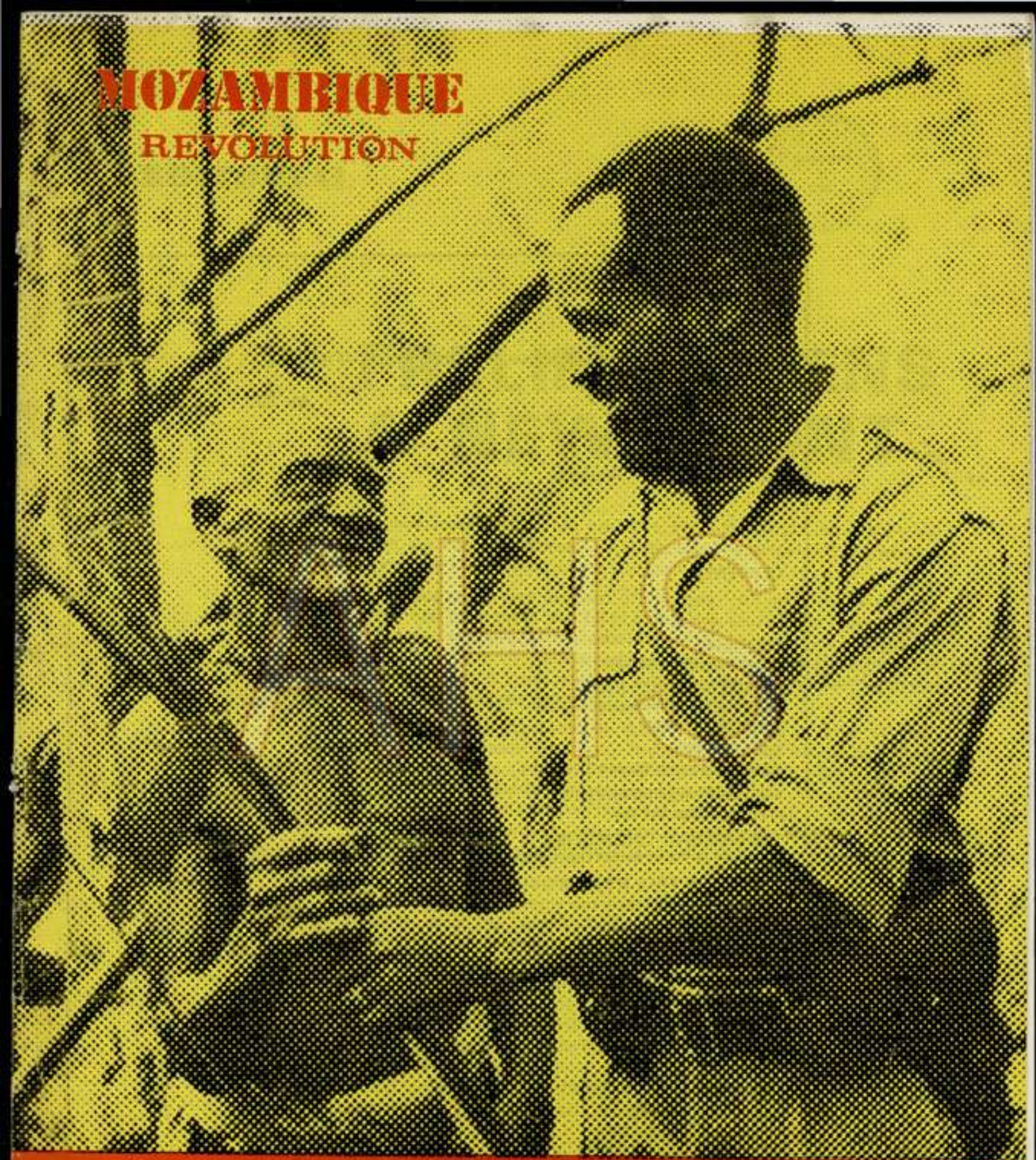


MOZAMBIQUE
REVOLUTION



FRELIMO

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EDITORIAL



FRELIMO OPENS A NEW FRONT

The announcement that, on July 25th, FRELIMO began the armed struggle in the Province of Manica e Sofala signals a particularly momentous event in the development of our struggle.

One glance at the map tells part of the story. Not only does the opening of this new front mean that FRELIMO is now operating militarily in four of the nine provinces of Mozambique, but also that our blows are striking increasingly close to the heart of the Portuguese colonial monster. For Manica e Sofala is a rich province, one over-ripe with economic interests vital to the Portuguese and to their imperial partners.

It is also densely populated; in Manica e Sofala the prospect of "the people in arms" must be a truly frightening one for Kaulza de Arriaga and his henchmen. And in this province there also lies Beira, key to a network of exploitation which penetrates deep into the continent; in Manica e Sofala, for example, the roads and rails which service Rhodesia and Cahora Bassa will be even more nakedly exposed to our assaults. Clearly, fighting in this province raises the stakes of our struggle considerably.

This advance is also important for other reasons. It tells us something not only about the "quantity" of our struggle — the number of provinces in which we are now operating — but also about the quality of that struggle. For such progress has been made possible only because of the degree of consolidation achieved in the other provinces in which the fighting has raged in recent years. Such has been our success there that Cabo Delgado Niassa and Tete now provide strong and effective rear bases — both militarily and politically — from which forward movement can spring. Moreover, as the advance continues and as the Portuguese are stretched ever thinner on the ground and in the air, the consolidation of these other provinces will be even further guaranteed.

Another lesson is one that our adversary is learning only slowly and painfully: that our struggle is now well underway in all parts of Mozambique. Thus we have not advanced into Manica e Sofala, as some would have it. FRELIMO has been active there over an extended period, just as we are in

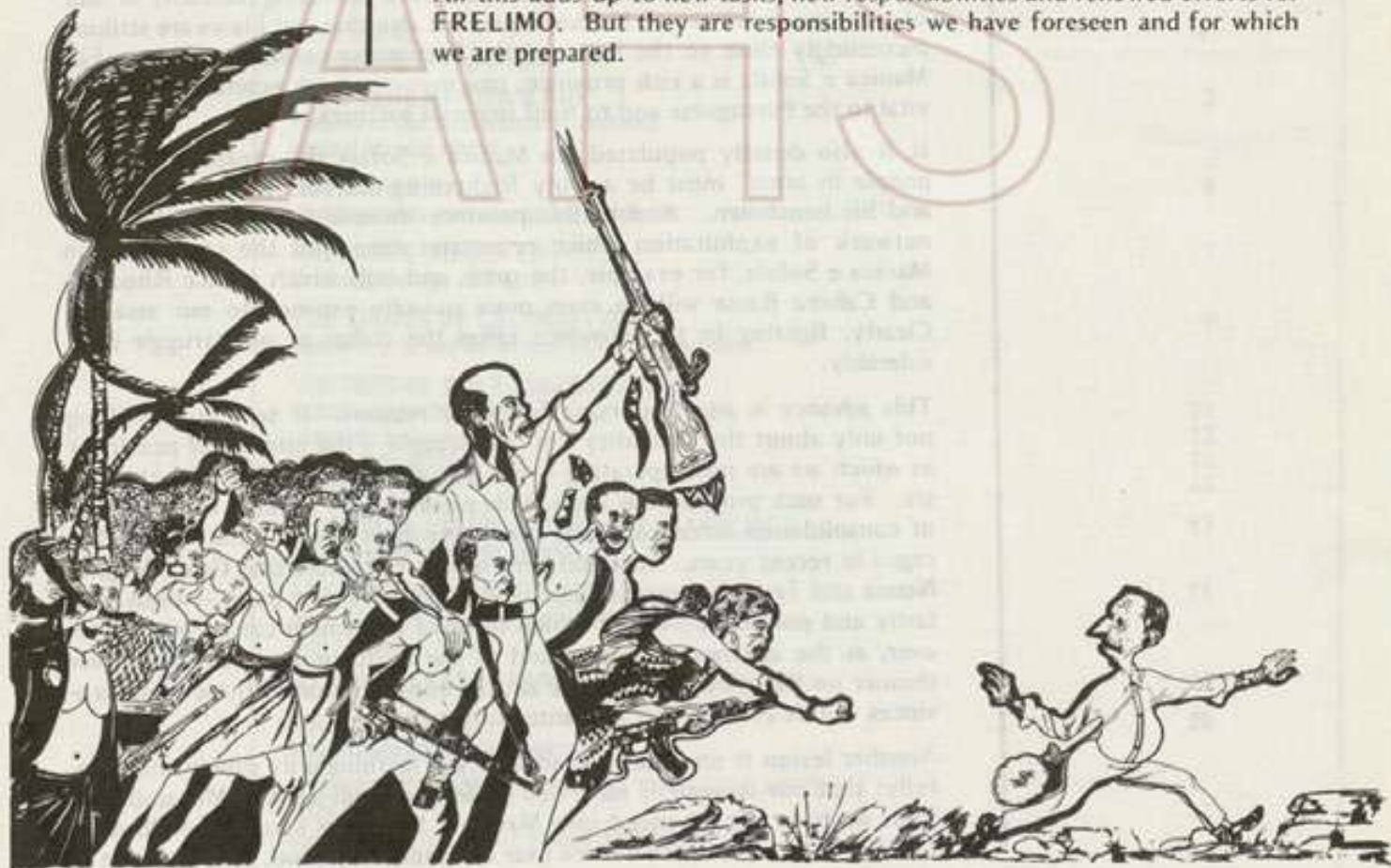


other provinces where armed confrontation has not yet taken place. Intensive and prolonged political work must always precede our decision to move to the next stage of struggle; when political conditions are mature, and logistical problems have been overcome, then the signal can be given. This has now happened in Manica e Sofala. But the armed struggle in any given province has its roots in the local people themselves — in their rising consciousness, in the growing strength of their organisation. With FRELIMO acting as the catalyst, the people of every province are already at work bringing nearer the ultimate demise of Portuguese colonialism.

In all these ways, the beginning of armed struggle in Manica e Sofala reaffirms our growing strength and the further collapse of Portuguese power. Yet at the same time our very advance brings with it new dangers, new threats.

Already the Rhodesians are active in Tete and we know the close links that exist between the Portuguese and South Africans. South African and Rhodesian involvement is increasing in proportion to Portugal's reverses. Their newspapers reveal growing alarm about the Mozambican situation; and the strategic significance of our new successes in Manica e Sofala will not be missed by the racist powers. Then there are the imperialists beyond the boundaries of Southern Africa, whose interests in the region are increasingly threatened.

All this adds up to new tasks, new responsibilities and renewed efforts for FRELIMO. But they are responsibilities we have foreseen and for which we are prepared.



FRELIMO AT THE CONFERENCE OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES

'We value Africa's aid'



FRELIMO's President addressing the Conference

The 8th Summit Conference of East and Central African countries met in Dar es Salaam from the 7th to 9th September, 1972.

The agenda included cooperation in the fields of transport, the use of natural resources, coordination with the OAU and the ECA, and support for the liberation struggle in Africa. The last item came to be the dominant political theme of the conference. In line with the spirit of the Rabat OAU Summit, the conference reflected the increased determination of the participating countries to fully assume their responsibilities towards the liberation struggle. At the opening session, President Nyerere set the tone by stating: «It is no longer necessary for us to repeat our opposition to colonialism and racialism in Africa. It is no longer necessary to explain the fact, or the reasons for the fact, of our support for the freedom fighters (...). It is action which is required from East Africa now, not words».

One of the most important aspects of the Conference was, in our view, the correct perspective in which the liberation struggle was analysed. In fact, the Conference did not limit itself to recriminations against colonialism, but gave special emphasis to the successes already achieved, thus creating the conditions for the more effective mobilisation of the African masses.

The Conference culminated with a Pledge of Solidarity with the liberation struggle.

Taking the floor at the closing session, the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, hailed the decisions taken by the Summit Conference. He said, «While addressing our warm congratulations to the countries of East and Central Africa for the important decisions taken here, we are interpreting the feelings of all our comrades of the liberation movements. These decisions have particular importance, because at this very moment our enemies, the Portuguese colonialists and the racist and fascist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, are resorting to large scale crimes of genocide aimed at hindering national resistance».

Further on, praising the unitary feeling prevailing at the Conference, the President of FRELIMO said, «FRELIMO will be unsparing in its efforts to consolidate unity at the national level, at the level of all the authentic national liberation movements of Africa, as well as among the independent and non-independent African countries».

Elaborating on the last point, Comrade Samora Machel stressed the nature of the relations that must exist and be reinforced among the African peoples — relations of cooperation in the same combat, in which certain tasks are entrusted to each. The main responsibility in the struggle necessarily falls to us, the liberation movements, «but the moral and material role of the independent African countries is also decisive. Our unity and its constant consolidation requires that

all of us, the peoples of both non-independent and independent countries should know how to assume their responsibilities.»

The President of FRELIMO went on to stress the political significance of the support given by the African countries. He said: «The aid we receive from you is extremely precious for us. We are aware that it is the product of the effort and sweat and sacrifice of the people of your countries. We therefore respect that aid and value it immensely and we use it in a correct and effective way, inflicting severe blows on the enemy forces and building a new society in the liberated areas». «For this reason,» our President concluded, «we feel entitled to speak frankly with the African countries. And we shall not hesitate to do so and to submit our requests for aid corresponding to each new phase of our struggle, so that our struggle may not be impeded by material difficulties.»

Proving the necessary interrelatedness between the common efforts and the results, the President of FRELIMO announced the opening of a new front in Mozambique on the 25th July, 1972, in the Province of Manica e Sofala.

FRELIMO and the Mozambican people followed the work of the Conference attentively. And we believe that it was an important step forward in increasing the understanding of the problems of the liberation struggle and strengthening Africa's fighting unity.



WAR REVIEW

On the 23 December, 1971, during an inspection tour of Mozambique, the Portuguese minister of the Navy, Admiral Pereira Crespo stated on his arrival in Nampula that he was very happy to visit the «military capitals». It was only a few months later, for the stated reason that changes had taken place in the military situation, that the headquarters of the general staff of the armed forces was transferred from Nampula, in the north, to Beira, in the centre of the country. This small incident shows the extent to which improvisation and disarray are prevailing within the colonialist high command in the face of what a South African journalist has called «the disturbing rapidity» with which the armed struggle is progressing in Mozambique.

Indeed, one of the predominant features of the present situation is the spread of the struggle to new regions towards the south, both in Niassa and Cabo Delgado and in Tete. In this latter province the armed struggle, which was launched south of the Zambezi River at the end of 1970, has now spread to the whole province. What is more, the extensive and far-reaching nature of the struggle in this province created the support bases needed for the launching of armed struggle in yet another province. It was on 25th

July this year that the FRELIMO fighters carried out the first operations in the central province of Manica e Sofala, during which posts were destroyed, arms captured and members of the population liberated from strategic villages into which they had been herded. This advance of the struggle is changing the strategic situation in the whole of the region. In fact, the Portuguese system of defence is based on the establishment of boundary lines south of the fighting zones, roughly following favourable natural obstacles. In the centre-west of the country, the most important line was the one running along the Zambezi river. Raised to the level of a major line of defence, not only for Mozambique, but also for the whole of White Southern Africa, the river zone has been invested with a network of defence posts aimed at preventing the FRELIMO fighters from crossing the river.

They cleared large strips of land along the river at spots thought likely to serve as crossing points for the guerrillas. They destroyed all the boats of the population and established fixed crossing points controlled by them. The ultimate goal of this plan is the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam, which we have on countless occasions denounced for its avowed aim of creating conditions for white

settlement, which would be used as a human barrier against the expansion of the armed struggle for liberation.

It is therefore not hard to understand the panic which seized the Portuguese command when they realised that FRELIMO operations south of the Zambezi were no longer taking the form of sporadic operations but were showing continuity, and at the same time meeting with the response and growing involvement of the population. Their disarray was all the more understandable in that the Portuguese strategists found themselves confronted with insurmountable contradictions arising out of the nature that armed action assumed in Tete province. It is important to analyse these factors.

In the first place, there were the actual tactics adopted by the FRELIMO fighters in this province. Taking into account the high concentration of Portuguese troops in this area, the guerrilla units adopted the tactic of successively dividing up their forces. Each time when, by the establishment of the struggle in a certain area, the numerical strength of the fighting group was increased through local mobilisation, it then sub-divided immediately and a new group set off to operate in a fresh zone. In this way, while stepping up the number of operations and expanding the fighting area, the FRELIMO units made all enemy counter-guerrilla action impossible or ineffective, because the many small units remained elusive. This was all the more successful owing to the very nature of the colonial presence in Tete Province and the system of oppression and exploitation which provided the nationalist forces with many targets.

Indeed, far more than Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces, Tete is one of the centres of settler economic exploitation and therefore offers the FRELIMO forces a wide field of action. We may take the example of the Angonia area, which is the major potato growing area in Mozambique. It was sufficient to step up sabotage operations along communication lines in the region for potatoes to completely vanish from the markets in Lourenço Marques. This situation has deprived the Portuguese army of the initiative and doomed it to undertaking defensive actions at the economic centres and along communication lines, in order to protect the apparatus of exploitation and to keep it running, for fear of losing what is the very reason for the colonialist presence. Furthermore, the political repercussions of armed action in this province have been very great throughout Mozambique, as these are regions which

are far more urbanised and which have much more contact with the rest of the country. Such repercussions make themselves felt, first among the Mozambican population, but the psychological effect is no less on the colonial population and especially on the large international capitalist interests which are watching the advance of the struggle in this region, seeing it as a test of the capacity of the Portuguese army to control the situation. This explains the constant movement of the Portuguese commander-in-chief, General Kaulza de Arriaga. After each important success of FRELIMO, he organises a meeting with capitalist groups in Lourenço Marques with the aim of restoring their somewhat shaken confidence in the abilities of his troops.

The hopeless quagmire into which colonialism is falling cannot be better illustrated than by the sharp contradiction affecting the Portuguese army in connection with the Cahora Bassa scheme. The political importance of the scheme, the massive investments involved, the presence of European technicians and the watchful eyes of world opinion, are all forcing the colonialists constantly to step up the protective measures, reinforcing the security arrangements and increasing the numbers of troops stationed there. The three concentric circles of defence which General Kaulza de Arriaga likes so much to dwell on in his speeches to foreign journalists merely mean that about 30,000 men have been immobilised there. In other words, a substantial part of the Portuguese army has been pinned down in one spot and is obliged to play the role of bodyguard for this white elephant, as it has been called, while the FRELIMO forces retain their choice of tactics to be used. As the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, has stated, «Cahora Bassa is not our main target. Our plan, as it was defined when we started the war, is to spread the struggle throughout the entire country; since Cahora Bassa is inside our country and in a province where there is fighting, it necessarily falls within this plan. We do not concentrate our action in Tete or Cahora Bassa, but of course there are circumstances which make it a very important target for us, namely the extent of imperialist involvement and the implications for our struggle if the scheme were to be carried out.»

The Portuguese command can only think of one way of getting out of this impasse: that of strengthening their forces in that zone. In order to do so, they have to step up recruitment. However, this presents

difficulties. In Portugal conscription seems to have reached its limits. The period of service in the colonies is now 4 full years and this immobilisation of economically active labour for such a long period has had serious effects on the Portuguese economy. To this must be added the peculiar phenomenon Portugal is experiencing, being the only country in the world where the total population is declining. Under these conditions, the recruitment of even African troops presents difficulties, due to the need of maintaining a certain balance between Portuguese and Mozambican troops, the latter not being looked upon as wholly reliable. At present the Portuguese army is therefore resorting to transferring troops from other provinces, some of which are at war. Thus, at the end of last year, 25,000 troops were sent to reinforce the Portuguese forces in Tete. It should be remembered, however, that this transfer of troops was as much a result of the advance of the struggle in Tete, as a consequence of successes achieved in other provinces. Indeed, while the situation in Tete has specific features, notably the direct threat to capitalist and imperialist interests, and therefore gets greater publicity, it would be wrong to let this make one underestimate the progress registered in the provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado.

Indeed, the Portuguese troops transferred to Tete had for many months been confined to the garrisons in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, which are situated on hostile terrain and are subject to constant harassment. The decision to transfer them to Tete seems to have been seen as a lesser evil, to put an end to the heavy losses and the constant lowering of their morale. However, these measures were not able to prevent the irresistible progress of the struggle, which reached the centre of the country in July this year.

It is clear that this description of the progress of the struggle is oversimplified since it does not take into account the fundamental causes of the successes achieved, which lie in the political work carried out by FRELIMO cadres and, above all, in the high spirit of struggle shown by the people. The powerful way in which the people have joined the struggle and their capacity to endure the greatest sacrifices in order to put an end to colonial oppression which is daily becoming more unbearable, explain the rapidity of the advance of the struggle.

The Portuguese army has tried to counter this spirit of resistance with psychological action or coercive measures for con-

trolling the population. An example of psychological action can be found in Niassa province where, although not confined to this province, it is particularly intensive. The general line is to confuse the people. Early this year, the Portuguese started to take a well-dressed African wearing a suit and tie among the people in the strategic hamlets, saying to them: «This is your governor, the government now depends on you. Tell him all your problems. All that is needed now is to finish with the guerrillas.» At the same time, pamphlets which invariably show the destruction of FRELIMO or the «wonderful life» in the strategic hamlets, or the power of the Portuguese troops, are still being dropped in their thousands in the war areas, but without any effect whatsoever on the people, most of whom do not know how to read. It is now clear that this propaganda has failed.

The large-scale recourse to the policy of strategic hamlets which with the tarring of roads, is looked upon as a panacea, is only achieving the opposite effect of increasing the resistance of the people. In January this year, a special correspondent of The Guardian (UK) reported on the method used by the Portuguese to force the population to go into a strategic hamlet, quoting a statement made by a Portuguese commando: «We give the blacks



two weeks to come into the fortified villages. If they don't we shoot them. Although it is easy to see that such methods cannot but give rise to the fierce resistance of the population and their more active involvement in the liberation struggle, the Portuguese army seems to have been overcome by hysteria and destructive lunacy.

Terrorism against the civilian population is attaining almost unbelievable degrees of cruelty. When they vigorously denounced the crimes of the Portuguese army and decided to leave Mozambique last July, the White Fathers merely raised a corner of the curtain of silence surrounding the terrorism of the Portuguese army. Other priests, 4 of whom are now in prison, and other witnesses, have exposed the barbarous practices of the

without distinction of race, colour or social origin, is growing daily.

The most marked worsening of repression, however, has been the use of chemical weapons in Cabo Delgado region. Under the two-fold pressure of the local forces and the spread of the struggle on other fronts, the Portuguese have been forced to evacuate a large number of posts in this area, thereby recognising their virtually definitive loss of control. They have embarked upon the use of chemical agents, trying to reduce the population by means of famine and starvation and trying to palliate their inability to maintain their direct military presence. Indeed in Cabo Delgado Province enemy activity over the past year was greatly reduced. This decline in activity started to make itself felt in September 1971,

herbicides while 2 jets, 5 bombers, one reconnaissance plane and a number of helicopters gave them protection. After one of the planes had been hit by our anti-aircraft fire (we saw it trailing smoke), these operations were drastically reduced.

According to press reports — The Sunday Times of 9 July, 1972, — the mercenary South African pilots who were piloting the aeroplanes were so afraid of our fire that they hastily cancelled their contracts and returned to their base, despite the enormous salary they were getting. Several crops were affected in the zones which were hit, namely maize and cassava, but the surpluses produced in other regions of the province were taken to the affected zones and prevented a famine situation.

The determination of the population also played an important role in preventing greater damage. Indeed, immediately after the planes had spread their chemicals, the people left their shelters and came out to cut the stalks to prevent the poison from travelling down the stalks into the roots. In this way, a lot of cassava was saved.

It is important, however, to point out the significance of the involvement of South African pilots in spraying operations in Cabo Delgado. Coming in the wake of multiple and camouflaged forms of South African support for the Portuguese army, ranging from logistic and technical support to the psychological operations of the Soldiers' Comfort Fund, this last form of aid seems to forecast increased involvement by the South African racists. Already numerous reports and testimonies among them those of the Rhodesian Military Command itself, have confirmed the involvement of Rhodesian troops in repressive operations in Tete. In the past few months a press campaign has been raging in South Africa aimed at preparing the public for direct intervention in Mozambique. These, as we have said elsewhere, are difficulties which we had foreseen and which, with the aid of the world peace-loving and progressive forces, we shall be able to overcome.

The fundamental point is this: three Provinces are liberated, and the armed struggle has already reached the fourth of Mozambique's nine Provinces. And, taking into account the favourable national situation, the growing international solidarity and the increasing disarray within the Portuguese system, there is every guarantee that our struggle will advance even faster in the future.

Health Centre in free Mozambique



Portuguese soldiers which have become truly systematic and are as systematically unpunished, so that they can be looked upon not as individual acts but as part of a line clearly laid down by the High Command.

In the areas which are still occupied, nationalist feeling is exploding with such power that the campaign of arrests can no longer contain it. During the month of June more than 1,800 Mozambicans were arrested in the south of the country, among them the principal leaders of the Protestant church of Mozambique. Recently, the Association of Mozambican Students in the University of Lourenço Marques was arbitrarily closed by the authorities. The awakening consciousness of the people in supporting FRELIMO

after they had withdrawn from Ng'angolo post. In the central areas of Cabo Delgado, for example, in the last months of 1971, they only carried out one large scale attack against one of our bases.

When they were counter-attacked they withdrew and took refuge at Ng'angolo post, which they did not leave again until 15th January, 1972. On that day they organised a few isolated operations, mainly bombing raids aimed at creating panic and at preventing the population from weeding the fields. It was in April that they started a programme of destroying crops with chemical agents sprayed from planes. These operations started in Nangade and Muidumbe areas along the Muera river; then moved into Ibo and Lurio. Four aeroplanes sprayed

THE ALL-AFRICAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the All African Women's Conference, a Seminar was held in Dar es Salaam from 24 to 31 July. FRELIMO was represented by a delegation composed of comrades Deolinda Raul Guesimane — member of the Central Committee and Head of the delegation, Marcelina Chissano and Rosaria Tembe. We quote from our speech:



FRELIMO women at the AAWC Seminar: Comrade Deolinda is on the left

OUR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE

For us the All African Women's Conference represents a platform of struggle from where women of our continent can coordinate their efforts in the hard struggle they are undertaking against the many forces which oppress them. To define clearly these forces must be our first task. Then it is necessary to decide on the methods of struggle. Finally, we must study and develop ways in which we can best coordinate our efforts so that they can be made more effective. It is with this perspective that we came to this meeting at which we commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the AAWC.

We are supposed to talk about the role of the women in our struggle. We find this somehow difficult, since in our organisation women and men fight and work together, side by side, in every kind of activity: we women participate in the actual fighting, integrated in military units; we work as political commissars, mobilising the people, enlightening them on all aspects of our struggle; we transport war materials to the front lines; we defend the people against enemy incursions; we participate in production; we are active in the schools and in the hospitals. So, if it is true that some tasks, by their nature, fall more under our responsibility — like taking care of children (we

have several nurseries and creches which are run by women) — in general we can say that we do the same work as men. And this we consider as one of the greatest achievements of our revolution. Specially if we consider against which background this situation arises. Traditional society, which kept women absolutely dependent on men, deprived women of any initiative, left them with no voice in the affairs of the community — their only task being the bearing of children and the undertaking of domestic work. And then came colonial society in which women became instruments of labour, even more exploited than men.

All this is being changed now in our country. And we wish to draw your attention to this special point, which tells of our experience: these changes have been accomplished through our political engagement. It has been our militant role in a political organisation having a correct political line that has given us the proper orientation necessary to make our efforts more effective. It is political awareness that has enabled us to find the most correct path to our emancipation. At the same time, we feel that it is within this political perspective that we, the Mozambican women can formulate the best forms of coordinating our efforts with

other African women. Our experience — we repeat — taught us that we must organise ourselves and struggle within a movement, that is, our women's organisation must be an arm, an instrument of a political movement.

We wish now to make an appeal to all African women and to the women of the world to help us surmount the difficulties that we face in order to accomplish our task in a more effective way.

Our appeal is not only for material support. It is primarily a call to the African women and all women, to take an active part in our struggle: to mobilise their people, by organising meetings of solidarity, distributing information about the successes and difficulties of our struggle, using every possible means, such as radio, press, cultural manifestations, exhibitions, etc., to develop at all levels — students, workers, etc. — the solidarity movement with our cause. The effort of political mobilisation represents without doubt, the most important contribution, it creates the material solidarity indispensable for the pursuit of our struggle.

We propose also that the women's organisations in Africa, at national and pan-African level, organise collection of funds and materials useful for our activities.

Frelimo women envoys

The list of our needs is not limited, it concerns all types of materials needed for the multiple activities that we have to undertake: cloth, clothing, school materials, medical and health equipment, powdered milk, baby foods...

The best way to accomplish all of these activities seems to be the creation of support committees at the level of the different organisations existing in the member countries. We feel that this is very necessary in Africa where — we must say it — popular solidarity has not yet found the proper outlet to express the deep feelings of the masses. And, woman must understand that her role of mobilisation starts first of all at home amongst the family.

IN EUROPE AND ASIA



At the invitation of the Women's Federation of the German Democratic Republic, 4 members of the FRELIMO Women's Detachment visited the German Democratic Republic last August. Our delegation was headed by Comrade Deolinda Raul Guesnane, a member of the Central Committee. The purpose of the visit was to study the development process in the GDR, particularly the specific achieve-

ments undertaken by the women of that country, and, at the same time, to strengthen the links of friendship and solidarity between our two peoples even further.

The programme included visits to factories, co-operatives, nurseries, schools and pioneer camps, as well as meetings with leaders of the women's Organisations at various levels. (pic. arrival in G.D.R.)



From the GDR 2 members of the Women's Delegation went to represent FRELIMO at the Conference of the Afro-Asian Women's Organisation in Ulan-Bator, Mongolia, which took place from 13 - 20 August. FRELIMO is a member of the AAWO.

During the discussions, our delegation summarised the present situation of our struggle in its fundamental aspects — political, military, and national reconstruction and spoke in detail on the participation of women in each sector of activity. We explained to the Conference how Mozambican women have been oppressed through the centuries, both by traditional society and by the colonial structures. We told of our experience, how direct involvement in a political movement is the decisive factor for women's emancipation. We explained how we are fighting the very common tendency in our societies to confuse educated women with emancipated women. We described how today the women in the liberated regions of our country are fully engaged in all the revolutionary tasks, side by side with men and on an equal footing with them.

THE CRIMES OF COLONIALISM

FRELIMO'S
TESTIMONY TO
THE HUMAN
RIGHTS
COMMISSION

On August 10, five FRELIMO witnesses appeared before the U.N. Commission on Human Rights at a sitting in Dar es Salaam. They told the Commission about the brutalities they had experienced at the hands of the Portuguese colonialists. Below is the text of FRELIMO's introduction to the testimonies.



A Mozambican victim of Napalm bombing

If we were to sum up what happened since we last gave evidence here, we would note that the barbarity and contempt for human beings which have always been the predominant features of Portuguese colonialism, from the time of the invasion throughout the occupation and after the launching of the armed struggle for national liberation, have considerably worsened over the past two years and have now reached unimaginable extremes.

To understand this, it should be recalled that this is a reflection of the despair which is gaining ground among the supporters of the system and in the enemy military command and which is spreading to all ranks of the army, owing to the success of our struggle which is already seriously threatening the economic foundations of colonial rule and rapidly spreading to new zones and making all the enemy's «miracle plans» fail. This is the explanation — if there can be one — for the bestial torture of which the witnesses here and the written testimonies and other documents which we will submit to you can give only a very insubstantial picture.

The testimonies we are submitting to you will give an idea of the crimes committed by the Portuguese army and also of the manifestations of forced labour and racial discrimination. Among the testimonies you will find some related to indiscriminate repression against the civilian population. They tell of the rape of women, the bombing of villages, the plunder and the forced removal of the population and

the continued imposition of forced labour. They tell of the torture and murder of prisoners of war.

They refer to racial discrimination and also to «forced assimilation», attempting to turn us into Portuguese in violation of our Mozambican and African personality which is evidence of the fact that despite its alleged abolition, the Native Statute is still enforced. Among the testimonies we make special mention of those which emphasize an infamous practice which has become common among Portuguese soldiers and which verges on genocide, which is that of killing all pregnant women by ripping open their stomachs with bayonets to take out the foetus in order, in their own words, «to prevent the birth of new terrorists».

The testimonies will also tell you of the inhuman treatment to which prisoners locked up in colonialist jails are subjected. In these prisons, as is stated in one of the testimonies of a Mozambican who was in jail for 7 years without ever being tried, everything — the food, the baths, the dormitory, the medical care and transfers — is a form of torture. They tell of the murder of detainees in prison.

The few prisoners who are brought to trial stay in prison for much longer than the sentences given. Such was the case of Domingos Mascarenhas Arouca, the first black lawyer in Mozambique who was brought to trial more than two years after his detention in May, 1965 and condemned to 4 years imprisonment and to security measures which enable the authorities to prolong his detention indefinitely. Despite his failing health, Domingos Arouca is still being held in the Peniche Prison in Portugal to which he has been transferred, although more than 7 years have passed since his detention. Like him, many others suffer the same fate. Black prisoners are subjected to discriminatory treatment in prison because of their colour.

The repression is getting worse and spares no one. Last June about 1,800 people were arrested in Southern Mozambique. At the same time, the leaders of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique were also put in prison.

We would like also to draw your attention to the most serious aspect of the increased repression against our people. Since the

beginning of this year the Portuguese army has started to use chemical weapons in the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado with the aim of destroying the people's means of subsistence. The testimony of our militant, Atanasio Saidi, an agricultural technician, emphasises that the following crops were affected and destroyed: cassava, sweet potatoes, bananas, pawpaws and pumpkins. This is confirmed by an article which appeared in the London Sunday Times on 9th July, 1972. According to the very precise details given in the article, the herbicide used is Convolvotox which is produced in South Africa, and it was sprayed by South African planes protected by Portuguese aircraft. This illustrates the increased collusion between the racist powers of Southern Africa against our people's right to life and freedom.

Through you, we address an urgent appeal to the United Nations Organisation and to world opinion in order that they do everything in their power to stop these genocidal practices which defy the fundamental principles and international conventions aimed at protecting human life and which can only be termed as a scorched earth policy, if not ecocide.

Finally, we wish to draw your attention to the legalised and institutionalised form terrorism has taken on within the Portuguese army in Mozambique. Indeed, despite the detailed testimonies on the crimes committed by the Portuguese army, testimonies not only from our people, but also from objective foreign observers, no measures have ever been taken against those responsible for the crimes. On the contrary, it is those who protest against them who are thrown into prison. This happened recently to four priests (2 Portuguese, the Rev. Fathers Sampaio and Mello, and 2 Spaniards), who are now being tried by a Portuguese military court in Mozambique for having denounced the crimes of the Portuguese army at Mkumbura. The 2 Spanish priests were arrested in Rhodesia by the police of that country and transferred to Mozambique. In this connection we recall the overwhelming evidence given by the White Fathers Missionary Congregation who decided to leave Mozambique in May last year, appalled by the crimes and tortures inflicted on Mozambicans.

We also wish to voice our indignation over the abominable atrocities committed by the Portuguese army. It was the South African paper, The Star, which reported in its issue of 6th November, 1971, that in Tete Province Portuguese soldiers forced mothers to crush their

Another testimony

A 31-year-old Portuguese missionary, who was given the choice of leaving Mozambique or going to prison there, has arrived in Rome with a documented report of massacres, torture, and concentration camps, in the province of Tete, where he served for two years.

Father Luis's report, which deals only with «about one-tenth of the province of Tete,» in Northern Mozambique, gives the dates and in most cases the names of the 92 people killed by Portuguese troops between May, 1971 and March 20 of this year.

He confirms that, between September 3 and 9, 1971, «the Rhodesian Army came to the aid of the Portuguese in Mucumbura massacring 18 people and then burning their bodies.» Five of the victims were men, whom he names. Four were women, including one who was pregnant, and the others were children.

His report describes in detail the forms of torture used by his fellow Portuguese. He

says that apart from prolonged physical torture during interrogation, castration and mutilations are common in the prisons. Father Luis came under the authorities' eye when he was one of two missionaries chosen by an assembly of 36 priests and nuns in his province to tour other missions in Mozambique to inform them of the situation in the north of the country.

He says the new barbed-wire enclosed compounds in Tete called «aldeamentos», are nothing but concentration camps and that soon all Africans will be enclosed in them, with about 250 people to a camp. Permission to leave can be obtained in theory, but it is not easy in practice.

When the guerrillas cause any trouble in the Tete area, the Portuguese seize 10 to 20 people from the camps and torture them — or worse — as reprisal.

“ THE GUARDIAN, Aug. 5, 1972 ”

children in mortars. The same paper also reports that the Portuguese ordered civilians to leave their villages and the following day, when they were on their way to another place, they were attacked by helicopters and savagely massacred.

None of these facts has ever given rise to a denial, an enquiry or a trial, which proves that far from being isolated acts, they are well and truly a systematic and deliberate practice. In any event, one does not have to look far to find the justification for these acts. It is sufficient to put the words of the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese army in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga. In his «Lessons of Strategy» from the High Command courses 1966 — 1967 Vol. XII, he declared that «the Portuguese strategy in Africa should be aimed at the realisation of an equilibrium between the black and white population». Within this perspective, after having hailed «the exportation of African slaves to Brazil as a good thing», he explains the present aims of the Portuguese action: «On the one hand the growth of the white population; on the other, the limitation of the black population». He couldn't be more explicit. . .

Before introducing our witnesses, we wish, on behalf of our people and our movement to reaffirm our belief in the principles of respect for human life, freedom and justice between men, which constitutes the corner-stone of our political line and our activity and, we believe,

of the existence and development of the world community itself. Through you, we also appeal to world opinion to intensify its activity to safeguard these essential values, in order to help us in our struggle for the liquidation of Portuguese colonial rule and for the freedom and independence of our people.

We also wish, through you, to convey to the Human Rights Commission our desire to see denunciations that you have undertaken, develop and become more sustained in order to achieve the systematic and powerful denunciation of the crimes to which the Portuguese colonialists are increasingly resorting. We would also like the attention of the Commission and consequently the mandate of its Ad Hoc groups, to bear more precisely on the acts of collective repression, massacres and war crimes in general committed by the Portuguese repressive forces.

We think that in this way you are contributing to stay the criminal hands of the colonial army and lessen the suffering of our people. We also wish that arrangements be made to enable us to contact the Commission under any urgent circumstances which require its intervention, in addition to the contacts already established, which are certainly fruitful, but still sporadic and sometimes too few and far between when it comes to urgent situations.

In conclusion, we wish to reaffirm, despite all the suffering and sacrifices, our certainty in the final victory.

British solidarity group among fighters in Tete

Three members of the British Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné visited Tete Province as guests of FRELIMO in the last two weeks of August. The delegation was headed by Lord Gifford, Chairman of the Committee. The others were Miss Polly Gaster who is the Committee's secretary, and Miss Pam Logie. Our guests, who present here some impressions of their visit, are pictured below with FRELIMO militants in Tete.

Our delegation arrived in Tete on 16th August, 1972 and stayed for 16 days. We walked more than 60 miles south from the Zambian frontier crossing the road running west from Fingoe towards Zumbo. We spent much of our time in the district of Fingoe, visiting several centres of population, a military base, a school, a hospital and a first aid post. We attended public meetings and we spoke at length to leaders, cadres, militants and ordinary people.

All of us had worked in support of FRELIMO in various ways for many years. We thought that we had a fair

understanding of the development of the struggle. In fact, what we saw of the strength of FRELIMO in Tete, of the commitment of the people to the struggle, of the achievements in national reconstruction, far surpassed our expectations.

The district which we visited has been fully liberated from Portuguese control. The enemy can move freely only by air. If he ventures from his base camps, he is harassed, attacked and forced to retreat. For instance, the road which we crossed had been a major line of communication; it was now clearly in disuse. The people of the villages to whom we spoke had not seen a Portuguese for three years. All that we ourselves heard of the enemy was the occasional noise of a plane, the explosion of a distant bomb, and the sounds of FRELIMO forces beating back an enemy raid from Fingoe base.

Many of the militants who marched with us had taken part in decisive battles for control of this district. These soldiers were not merely fighters: they were an integral part of FRELIMO's political structure. They had taken part in mobilising the people long before the first shot was fired. Hearing them explain the reasons why they carried arms, watching them talk to the people of a village, we understood that here in reality was an army of the people.

In 1970, with the enemy's forces being increasingly dispersed to meet FRELIMO's advances, the way was clear for the work of reconstruction to begin. We had thought that after so short a time, little could have yet been achieved. How wrong we were! In the district of Fingoe, not only has the old life of oppression and exploitation been swept away; a new life of dignity and freedom has been created.

For instance in the school which we visited, 100 boys and girls who before would not have seen a school, are receiving their first year of education.



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From there many will go on to the central pilot school, in another district. For the second, third and fourth class. There is a shortage of teachers, but a basic training course for teachers is under way at the pilot school. A course of adult literacy is about to be introduced. The children are learning about their own country and their own people. It will be they who will continue the long struggle which lies ahead.

At the hospital we saw children with burns and snake bites, victims of the war, patients with various other illnesses. The medical staff from the hospital travel around the district to a number of first aid posts. If the case is too serious for them to handle, transport is arranged to the large provincial hospital. Again, these are facilities which did not exist under the Portuguese. Again, there is a great need of trained personnel and equipment, but a basic first-aid training programme is in operation.

Everywhere we were reminded of the fundamental task of cultivation and production. The soldiers must cultivate, to reduce as far as possible their need to seek food from the people. The school children cultivate, and at the hospital a small vegetable garden had just been started. In the villages, production is increasingly carried on on a collective basis. Tete is rich in cattle, which are raised for the benefit of the village. Artisans basket-makers and iron-workers, who before had worked for individual gain, were now integrated in the collective production of the village, their products being sold abroad to buy salt and soap and other necessities. The secretary of the village records each individual's contribution, and ensures that the proceeds are fairly distributed.

At every level the people take part in the decisions which affect their lives. Local questions are resolved at meetings of the village or circle. The circles send representatives to the committee of the locality, and the localities to the district committee. At the top is the council of the Province, which met last December to review the whole development of the struggle in Tete. On each body will be found the people and the cadres responsible for the various sectors of activity: part of the constant two-way process of communication between the people and the leadership.

It is not only physical conditions which are changing. Attitudes of mind, instilled by centuries of colonial rule, are changing



Polly Gaster and Lord Gifford in Fingoe District

also. We examined closely the role and status of the women who we met. We saw, for instance, that women spoke equally with men at village meetings; that the militants of the women's detachment took part equally with men in the mobilisation of the people. There are still more male cadres in FRELIMO than female; but it was evident that traditional notions of male superiority were rapidly being destroyed. The thinking of men and women alike was being emancipated.

The people in Tete who are building this new life are not going to give it up. They understand clearly why they are at war; their determination to advance the struggle is clear and firm. They see as an essential part of their work the need to help transport materials to other regions. Their militias are organised for self-defence and to give information about the enemy to the soldiers.

Our information about the situation in Tete did not come only from FRELIMO comrades; it was confirmed during a long interview which we had with three recent deserters from the Portuguese army. A month after completing training as part of a special anti-guerrilla force, they had deserted to join FRELIMO in the area south of the Zambezi. They told us in particular of the brutal strate-

gic hamlets policy, the enemy's desperate method of trying to get the people on his side — by herding them behind barbed wire.

The deserters also confirmed that large scale military aid and support is being given to the Portuguese by Rhodesia. One, a sergeant, had been trained in anti-guerrilla warfare by a Rhodesian instructor. He told us that in the area south of the Zambezi, Rhodesian ground and air forces make regular incursions, killing, looting and burning wherever they can. It is not surprising, as the struggle in Tete advances to the south and west, as the communication lines to Cahora Bassa become increasingly strangled, so it is to be expected that all the racist regimes of Southern Africa will unite more closely together.

The development of the struggle in Tete is only in its early years. Much more remains to be done, and much help is needed. But we have returned from our visit astonished at the rate of progress so far; inspired by the example of determined revolutionary action which FRELIMO has shown to us; determined to increase the level of political and material support which can be achieved in our countries; and more confident than ever that FRELIMO will advance and triumph.

John Saul, a Canadian, visited Tete Province at the same time as the British Party. Mr. Saul is a lecturer who spent seven years in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and taught political science at the University there. He is the author of several works on Tanzanian development and is no stranger to the situation in eastern and southern Africa but, as he explains here, the reality of revolution in Mozambique exceeded his expectations.

When FRELIMO invited me to visit the liberated areas of Mozambique this year I did not expect to be surprised by what I saw. After all, during my seven years of residence in Dar es Salaam as a lecturer at the University, during which time I had taught courses on Southern Africa among other things, I had followed developments in Mozambique closely. I had also been able to establish comradely relationships with several FRELIMO representatives and militants and had learned something of the nature of their struggle. I felt that I knew a great deal and what I did not know I could imagine.

Yet the reality of military struggle and of national reconstruction in Tete Province which I visited in August far exceeded anything that I had read of, discussed, or even imagined. In the District of Fingoe, which we walked 100 kilometres from the border to reach, we found an on-going FRELIMO political system growing right up from the village level, we found schools, hospitals and first aid posts, and we found that the Portuguese could penetrate this area only rarely and then only by jet planes and helicopters. Bear in mind that this was an area where fierce fighting had raged as recently as 1970. Yet if I had been told in advance that such a level of social and political infrastructure had been attained to in areas of Cabo Delgado liberated since the mid-sixties, I would have been impressed!

It is impossible to summarize all my observations here; it is probable that only a book will prove adequate to the task. But several points do stand out particularly clearly in my mind even when trying to sort out a myriad of impressions only a few days after returning from Tete.

LESSON IN REVOLUTION FOR A CANADIAN LECTURER



One relates to the quality of leadership. I was continually meeting cadres — very often in their early twenties — at various levels of the FRELIMO structure who astonished me with their sure grasp of the essentials of struggle and with their obvious dedication and sense of commitment. I was tempted to contrast them, perhaps unfairly, with too many of the conservative students (of the same age group) whom I had known at the University of Dar es Salaam. Certainly, after drawing such a comparison the fields of practice and of struggle come to seem even better grounds for leadership than much of the formal education system which has been inherited elsewhere from colonialism.

A second point concerns the close relationship between such leaders and the people. Again, numerous examples of methods of work which help to ensure this result come to mind. But one incident in particular suggests itself most

dramatically. In visiting a village of some 200 or 300 people we marched for over an hour from a district headquarters with a group of 40 or more armed men. Yet, when we arrived in the village we were warmly welcomed; more important, the soldiers mixed freely with the villagers, sitting casually with old women by the fire as the latter cooked supper and so on. It is difficult to imagine many countries in the world where the arrival of a group of soldiers (or even policemen!) would be a signal for life to continue normally. Yet in liberated Mozambique this is the order of the day.

Thirdly, as a student of African affairs, I was particularly interested in the role of the military more broadly considered; it is difficult not to consider the possible dangers of militarism after the past decade of continental developments. Significantly, FRELIMO itself seemed equally preoccupied with such problems — and even with any future danger for

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post-liberation Mozambican society. As a result we everywhere witnessed the emphasis which is placed upon the primacy of politics and of the people in the present struggle. All militants, even those most clearly involved in administrative chores, have military training, and ordinary villagers are actively engaged in the militia; no caste system premised on military professionalism is to be allowed. And those most clearly engaged in military activities are constantly reminded of, and instructed in, the basically political nature of the overall struggle for Mozambican independence.

A fourth aspect perhaps impressed me forceably because of my own studies of efforts at collective rural development in Tanzania. For in the village at which we spent the longest time during our 16 days inside the liberated areas, it was clear that exploitation was being actively discouraged and that the villagers were rapidly finding collective solutions to their agricultural problems. Seven communal fields were in operation and artisans — basket-makers and iron-workers — who had previously worked and earned individually had now taken their places within a collective division of labour. The community spirit thus engendered seemed also to make it easier for the village to shoulder its broader responsibilities — helping feed the fighting forces by providing produce, joining periodically in the carrying of vital war materials from the frontier. In short, this was an experiment which compared favourably with most of the «ujamaa villages» that one knew in Tanzania.

Fifth, one could not fail to be impressed by the spirit of internationalism which seemed consistently to animate the Mozambicans with whom we came into contact, even at the village level. As was constantly reiterated, both at meetings and in casual conversation, here there was no room for simple-minded racialism or opportunist brands of «ultra-nationalism». Instead a more sober national spirit defined the enemy — the Portuguese State, Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist allies — more clearly and more effectively. It was gratifying — as a white and as Canadian — to be warmly accepted as a comrade by such people, despite the graphic realities, on a world scale, of racial oppression and North American imperialism. It also heightened my own awareness of how much more progressives in the metropolitan countries must do to be worthy of such trust and friendship.



John Saul meets two Mozambicans who deserted from the colonial army to join FRELIMO

A final point touches on the military sphere — and certain of its implications. Talking to militants and cadres from all corners of Tete Province, to the people themselves, and even to several deserters from the Portuguese army, it was clear that FRELIMO is winning the war in Tete as it is also doing in Cabo Delgado and Niassa. Clear, too, that so important a project as Cahora Bassa in Tete is seriously threatened as its supply lines are increasingly harassed. And further advances are inevitable. Yet already the Rhodesians are an active military presence in Tete beyond the Zambezi; a deserter from the Portuguese army we met revealed that he had even had Rhodesian instructors in his counter-insurgency course while with the Portuguese! And the intensified involvement of the South Africans can surely not be

far behind.

In this respect, too, my Tete experience dramatized the responsibilities which will increasingly fall upon metropolitan progressives who are concerned about the future of Mozambique. For in a wider war, our own governments will be tempted to back the side of their investments, as indeed they have already begun to do in dramatic ways. The necessity to alert the Canadian people to such a danger was one of the imperatives which struck me most forceably during my stay in the liberated areas. The ten or more years which elapsed before a significant challenge — intellectual or political — could be mounted at home to imperialist intrigues or subterfuge in Vietnam must not be allowed to occur with respect to Mozambique.

ITALIAN COMRADES STRENGTHEN LINKS WITH FRELIMO



A delegation from Italy visited Cabo Delgado in August. The delegation consisted of: comrade Giuseppe Sorcini, (right), Director of the St. Maria Nuova Hospital in Reggio Emilia and Chairman of the Committee for Medical assistance to Free Mozambique; Lanfranco Turci, a Councillor for the Region of Emilia Romagna; Angelo Pisi, a member of the Municipal Council of Reggio Emilia; Marisa Musu, a journalist from the national newspaper, 'Unità'; Franco Cigarini and Claudio Poeta, cameramen. They came to Mozambique to get information which will enable them to step up the solidarity movement with our struggle.



Our delegation had three basic objectives:

1. to get material which would enable us to adequately organise and prepare the National Conference of Solidarity with the Liberation Movements of Angola, Guiné and Mozambique, in particular material for a film on the struggle in Mozambique;
2. to gain concrete understanding of the situation of FRELIMO and the needs of the liberated regions, in order for us to be able to assist FRELIMO in a more effective way in the different fields of health, education and production;
3. to strengthen the solidarity and political links between the people of Italy and of Mozambique.

We can say that all these objectives were fully achieved. FRELIMO, to whom we address our deep and sincere thanks, let us see everything we wanted. We visited many bases and villages, bush schools, first-aid posts and small sanitary centres; we participated in the daily life of the guerrillas and of the population; we spoke with leaders and the rank and file, took part in public meetings and watched popular cultural programmes. Everywhere we witnessed the presence of a strong organisation - FRELIMO - with capable cadres, deeply united with the masses. It is a unity born in the process of the struggle against colonialism and exploitation and which is being consolidated in the liberated zones, through the building of the new society.

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Angelo Pisi



Franco Cigarini



Dr. Slavcho Slavov from Bulgaria works at the FRELIMO hospital in Mtwara, Tanzania. His duties also extend to the liberated areas of Mozambique and these pictures show him during a recent visit to Cabo Delgado Province.



We saw how the initiative of FRELIMO is constant on two fronts: the front of the armed struggle, which is expanding and reaching new zones (while we were there FRELIMO had announced successful military operations in the Province of Manica e Sofala); and the front of reconstruction, for a new nation free from all vestiges of colonialism.

FRELIMO pays particular attention to the literacy campaign. We saw in the bush many schools at work, although in a simple way and with a great lack of education material. While in Tanzania, on our way back, we visited the FRELIMO Secondary school in Bagamoyo and were greatly impressed by the engagement and determination of the students.

In the field of health assistance for the people, FRELIMO is taking very important steps. Every locality has its own health units for treatment of the people. Of course, we saw also the great difficulties which exist — lack of doctors, nurses and medicines, great distances, the shoulders the only means of transportation.

The Mozambican women have assumed a new role in the construction of the new society. We saw that not only do they participate in the armed struggle, but they have also undertaken responsibilities in the schools and hospitals — which would have been unthinkable in the colonial times.

Our delegation is now certain that FRELIMO embodies the deep aspirations of the masses towards freedom and independence; against racism and exploitation; for the attainment of better living conditions of the whole people of Mozambique. The strength of FRELIMO derives from its capacity to link with the masses and from the internationalist nature of its struggle. After some weeks living with FRELIMO we learnt that everybody is aware that the struggle will be hard and protracted, and that its success does not depend only on a military victory, but also on the political solidarity of the peoples of Africa, of the socialist countries and of the workers of the whole world. We could tell much more about our trip, but these are in short some of the experiences we lived.

Back in Italy, we shall continue to consolidate relations with FRELIMO and develop the campaign to make our whole people aware of the situation in Mozambique, so that side by side with the Vietnam solidarity movement, the solidarity with FRELIMO will grow for the liberation of Mozambique and for the liberation of the whole of Africa.

A SOLDIER ESCAPES FROM CAETANO'S WAR



Carlos Maltes, deserter from the Portuguese army, among FRELIMO fighters

I was conscripted on the 4th of May, 1969. I finished my basic training on the 20th of July. From August 1st to 29th I was given special training on firing mortars. On the 30th December, 1969 I was sent to Mozambique. I came in a special troop transport plane and arrived in Beira on the 1st January, 1970.

I spent 3 months in Beira, serving at the General Headquarters. Then my Company was dispersed: some went to Lourenço Marques, others to Tete, Niassa or Cabo Delgado. I was posted at Mueda, Cabo Delgado, joining a Company which was already there but which had been greatly reduced owing to the many losses it had suffered in combat — company No. 33.

I was in Mueda for 2 years. I never took part in battles, as my work was in the Headquarters Garage, repairing vehicles.

After 2 years, when I was expecting to return to Portugal, I was informed that, for disciplinary reasons, I had to spend 2 more years in Mozambique, and that I was to be transferred to another post in the bush. I was also informed that the reason for this disciplinary action was that

Last August, a Portuguese soldier, corporal No. 119443 69 Carlos Manuel Maltes, deserted from the colonial army in Cabo Delgado Province and sought the protection of FRELIMO. He was born in Aveiro, Portugal, is 24 years old, studied up to 4th class primary school, and is a mechanic by occupation. He is married with two children and his parents are peasants. Interviewed by a member of the FRELIMO Information Department, Carlos Maltes said the following:

one day I had been seen by the Company Commander drinking beer without permission. I got very angry and very worried.

I had thought myself already safe, after the 2 year period without fighting. The idea of spending two more years in a zone of intensive war demoralised me completely, particularly because while in Mueda, I had already heard that the Namatil post to which I was to be sent was being constantly attacked by FRELIMO 'terrorists'. The last thing I had heard was of an attack in July this year,

1972, in which several of my colleagues were killed or wounded. I was sure that my going to that post would mean the end of my life.

As soon as I arrived in Namatil I started to prepare a plan for escape. I spent less than a month at that post: during that time we were attacked once, with artillery fire. Some days later I ran away — went into the bush to FRELIMO. I did not care if I was attacked by a tiger or a lion, if I stepped on a mine, or whatever else might happen. All I wanted was to be free from the war, not to be forced to commit crimes.

For I am conscious that this war is not our war. The Portuguese people cannot speak because of fascism, but if they could, they would condemn this dirty and unjust war. We also would not accept it if the Africans were to cross the seas and invade Portugal to destroy our fields and our houses, to kill us or our parents or children. The Portuguese government

is waging this war only to murder the Portuguese soldiers. Caetano and his gang, those who benefit from the war, do not suffer, they are safe; it is we who are sent to our deaths — for nothing.

The day before my desertion two other white soldiers, both born in Mozambique had also run away. I thought I would meet them here — if they did not arrive that means that they must have hit the mines around the post: all the surrounding area is in fact mined, and only the saboteurs know the positions of these mines.

I am very glad to have taken this decision. The treatment I get in FRELIMO could not be better. I confess I am surprised, the officers in the army tell us that if we are caught by the terrorists they will try to get every bit of information out of us and later kill us. They also tell that in FRELIMO there is only disease and poverty, that the guerrillas spend their time grubbing in the earth, searching for roots

to eat. We think — is FRELIMO really like that? This is the reason why many soldiers who would like to desert do not do so. Every week there are meetings of officers and soldiers at which this propaganda is constantly repeated. But I now have confirmation that what our officers tell us are lies.

All communications with the post where I was were by radio and plane. All the supplies were also brought by air. The doctor used to come once a month, sometimes once in two months.

I personally did not take part in any military operation, but I knew of several FRELIMO attacks from my colleagues. For example, I was told about 3 aircraft shot down, 2 from Mueda and one from Porto Amelia. The one from Porto Amelia was shot down in Nangololo, at the end of January, 1972. Of course I also heard of many FRELIMO ambushes and attacks.

FRELIMO'S NEW RECRUITS

SOLDIERS DESERT THE PORTUGUESE TO FIGHT FOR MOZAMBIQUE



Last July, three Mozambican soldiers deserted from the colonialist army in the southern zone of Tete Province, and joined FRELIMO. They are Antonio Anselmo Seremenga, Pedro Alvaro Cabral Lopes de Bettencourt da Camara, and Dias Boaventura. They all brought with them their weapons and equipment — three G-3 sub-machine guns (West German origin), one Walter automatic pistol (West German), one 60 mm mortar (American) and one radio-transmitter (South African).

In an interview the three deserters told how they joined the Portuguese Army and why they deserted. They revealed important information about the colonial army, its state of collapse and demoralisation, the Portuguese attempt at "Africanisation" of the war and the advocacy by a section of the army of a UDI type of independence for Mozambique.

The text of the interview given in Tete by the three deserters in the presence also of the British and Canadian visitors will be published in the next issue of Mozambique Revolution.

OAU Sec. General visits Frelimo



On the 10th September, the Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, took advantage of a visit to Dar es Salaam to acquaint himself with several aspects of FRELIMO's work. He visited the FRELIMO printing section in Dar es Salaam and the FRELIMO Secondary School in Bagamoyo. He was accompanied by the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, the Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, Major Hashim Mbita, and other OAU and FRELIMO officials.

In the printing section we explained to the OAU Secretary-General why it is necessary for us to edit and print our own school text books and information material and how we go about this task.

Mr. Ekangaki addressed the students and staff at the Bagamoyo school. He talked about the role of youth in the liberation struggle. He said he was impressed by what he saw on his visit, the first he has made to an organisation fighting for freedom since his election.

Left: Mr. Ekangaki at the FRELIMO printing section
Above and below: meeting the students at Bagamoyo





Ruins of the post of Demiciano in Tete, destroyed by FRELIMO forces

WAR COMMUNIQUE

CABO DELGADO

During the period from May to September, FRELIMO fighters in Cabo Delgado attacked 12 posts; shot down 2 airplanes and 1 helicopter, and destroyed several others on the ground; and launched a number of ambushes and sabotage operations, killing more than 200 enemy soldiers and destroying 17 vehicles.

attacks

The attack against the post of Ulumbi took place on the 21st of June; some of the houses were destroyed, 10 soldiers killed and many wounded. On the 21st of July, we attacked and damaged the post of Namatil, killing 8 Portuguese soldiers. On 26th July, the same post was again attacked and 5 of the enemy were killed. On the 8th, 18th and 30th of August we attacked the posts of Chai, Nazombe and Namatil, damaging the buildings and killing a number of the soldiers of the posts' garrisons. And on the 18th of September, 1972, FRELIMO forces launched a series of simultaneous attacks against the posts of Ng'apa, Nama-

til, Nangade, Sagal, Diaca, Nangololo and Mueda.

In Mueda which is the Portuguese military headquarters in Cabo Delgado, we destroyed 2 jet fighters, 7 helicopters, 5 Harvard bombers and 4 reconnaissance planes on the ground, blew up the ammunition and fuel depots, wiped out a number of barracks and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy soldiers. Of the planes which had been called to give support to the Mueda garrison, one Harvard bomber was shot down and crash-landed on our positions. Inside the wreckage our fighters found two bodies. We salvaged one radio and two sub-machine guns.

The enemy did not react. For three days Mueda was in flames.

aircraft shot down

Besides the Harvard Bomber downed on the 18th September in the attack against Mueda, FRELIMO fighters shot down a helicopter on the 11th of June and a reconnaissance plane on the 7th of July. The helicopter was attempting to land troops for an operation. It crash-landed

in the outskirts of the post of Macomia. The plane was flying over the zone of Ntandadi. It also crash-landed when attempting to reach the airport of Mueda.

NIASSA

From April - July, we attacked 4 posts and a strategic hamlet; derailed 3 trains sabotaged 2 bridges; destroyed 11 vehicles and killed over 150 enemy soldiers.

attacks

We attacked the strategic hamlet of Machomane on the 25th of May killing 4 soldiers and freeing 19 people. On the 23rd of June, the post of Pamba was badly damaged and 15 soldiers were killed. 25th June - FRELIMO artillery and infantry units attacked the post of Milepa, damaging it and killing 12 of the garrison. On the 14th of June and 21st of July, we badly damaged the camp of Matipa and the post of Unango.

sabotage operations

A FRELIMO unit mined the railway line to Catur. A train passing on the line on

the 10th April was blown up and a number of Portuguese soldiers were killed.

On the 4th June, 1972, a FRELIMO unit sabotaged the railway line between Catur and Belem. Four wagons were destroyed and four were damaged. At least 20 passengers, most of whom were soldiers were killed in this operation.

On the 17th June, another train was blown up on the railway line between Nova Guarda and Vila Cabral. Our mines destroyed or badly damaged 5 of the 7 wagons. Fifteen Portuguese soldiers were killed.

On the 18th May, a bridge and a lorry (UNIMOG) carrying 18 Portuguese soldiers were destroyed on the road between Mandimba and the enemy camp near river Luambala. Our comrades had mined the bridge. When the lorry passed over it, it triggered off the explosion: the bridge the lorry and the soldiers all plunged into the river.

TETE

During the period between March - July 1972, FRELIMO guerrillas in Tete province shot down 2 planes and a helicopter; blew up 3 locomotives and 16 wagons; attacked 19 posts; sunk 6 boats; sabotaged 5 bridges; launched 127 major ambushes and sabotage operations throughout Tete; destroyed 52 vehicles; and killed more than 550 enemy soldiers.

aircraft shot down

On the 15th of March, the enemy attacked one of our bases in the region of

Mocumbura with helitransported troops. During the operation one helicopter was hit by our anti-aircraft fire and crash-landed in the zone of Kaluwe. The whole crew - which included 4 officers - was killed. Next day a FRELIMO unit was sent to collect the wreckage. Our fighters found an enemy platoon guarding it and attacked them, killing three.

On the 10th May, our comrades on a mission at the airfield of Mague Novo shot down an aircraft as it was taking off. The plane crashed on the spot, and the whole crew, comprising 2 military pilots and three civilians were killed.

A Rhodesian reconnaissance aircraft was shot down in the region of Mague on the 24th of May, when trying to locate our bases. It crash-landed on a mountain near the border with Rhodesia, as the pilot attempted to return to his base.

trains destroyed

Two trains were destroyed by mines in April, on the railway line Beira - Tete, on the section between Mecito and Chiveza. The first operation on April 20th, blew up the locomotive and 4 wagons. The second, on the 26th, caused the destruction of the locomotive and 3 wagons. On the 10th of May, a FRELIMO sabotage unit mined the zone between Mutara and Moatize. One train hit the mine; the locomotive blew up and 8 wagons were derailed.

six boats sunk

On the 12th of April, our fighters sunk 3 Portuguese patrol boats on the Zambezi River, in an ambush.

On the 19th May, in another ambush on the same river, 3 patrol boats were sunk and many of the soldiers on them were killed.

operations on the international road Rhodesia - Malawi

Seventeen more operation on the international road Rhodesia - Malawi took place during March - May. In some cases civilian vehicles which were integrated in military convoys were also hit by our fire. For example, the cases of the three buses carrying soldiers and civilians which were ambushed by FRELIMO fighters; one on the 1st March in the zone of Mphuno Zangombe; one on the 4th of April between Tete and Zobue; and one on the 17th of April in the region of Moatize. The other actions were carried out in Nchocho (1), Tete - Zobue (4), Chingwere (2), Nyangoma, Matambo, Changara (4), Tete - Goba.

bridges destroyed and damaged

Two bridges were destroyed, on the 21st May and 25th July. The first one on the road Furancungo - Tete, and the second over the river Diangu, about 1 km. from the post of Bene. On the 26th May, a third bridge was damaged on the road Tete - Beira.

One bridge was blown up on the international road Rhodesia - Malawi on the 26th April. The bridge spanned the river Chimunda and was 20 meters long, built from concrete. Another bridge over river Mtudzi on the same road, was damaged on the 2nd of April.

posts attacked

The following camps or posts were attacked and totally or partially destroyed: 14th April, post of Vila Gamito; 16th April, post of Chibovo; 21st April, camp of Nhacapiriri; 25th April, camp of Chimidza; 30th April, camp of Chiumumbo; 1st May, post of Mocumbura; 14th May, post of Chimiwa. (During the attack on Mocumbura the administrator of the post as well as 15 Portuguese soldiers were killed; a Rhodesian policeman who was at the post was wounded). 14th May, camp of Vila Gamito; 29th May, camp of Caldas Xavier; 14th June, post of Makwio; 18th June, camp of Mtengo-Wambalame; 21st June, military headquarters of Mulambe; 23rd June, military headquarters of Mavudzi; 25th June, a camp in the zone of Mavudzi; 27th June, military headquarters of Framma; 18th July, post of Chofombo; 19th July, post of Kanyenda; 22nd July, post of Armando.

Weapons captured from the enemy (G-3 sub-machine guns)



The 111rd meeting of the Technical Committee of Experts of the Economic Commission for Africa was held in Addis-Ababa from September 2 to 8, 1972. FRELIMO, an associate member of the E.C.A. was represented at the meeting which was in preparation for the Ministerial Conference to take place next year in Accra. We quote from our report to the Committee:

Economic development in the liberated areas

It might appear to some that it is out of place for a Liberation Movement to speak of development, for a people who are still having to fight for their liberation to concern themselves with national reconstruction.

Yet it is only logical that those who wish to liberate themselves should know what to do with their freedom, and all the more so when such a high price in bloodshed has to be paid for regaining it. Furthermore, and this is just as important, the actual situation now prevailing in Mozambique is such that the question of economic and social development arises as an immediate problem.

The armed action of our people has started to bear fruit.

At the present time, there are large areas of our national territory in which the colonial army makes its presence felt only through the air force, having been forced to evacuate vast regions.

Today, there are vast liberated areas in Mozambique which extend over more than 200,000 square kilometres, i.e. a quarter of our national territory, and which are inhabited by about a million people.

In these liberated areas, which are in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete provinces, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, have embarked on the process of national reconstruction with the aim of meeting the growing needs.

Our first concern was to ensure agricultural production sufficient both to meet our people's needs in food and to produce some surpluses which could be exported in order to provide the means for obtaining essential manufactured goods which had completely disappeared with the withdrawal of Portuguese traders.

True, it was a question of getting agricultural production going again, but structural changes also had to be made in this field. Indeed, since production had been subject to the principles of the «colonial pact», we had to replace products for the colonial economy — cotton and oil plants — with others which could feed the masses properly, since, for very good reasons, those products could no longer find their way to the traditional markets and we had neither the means nor the technology to use them ourselves. Therefore cotton growing had to be stopped in the liberated areas, whereas oil plant production was reduced for a while and later increased again when we started to find markets in friendly countries. Conversely, there has been a substantial increase



in food crops on the one hand, because the people have been freed from the colonial constraints, under which they were subjected to forced labour and growing compulsory crops which prevented them from growing what they themselves needed; and, on the other, because the people are now producing in their own interests.

Political mobilisation in favour of the cooperative mode of production has made it possible to generalise the peasant mutual aid and cooperative movement, which rendered productive efforts far more effective and also led to greater diversifications.

For reasons which have to do with the shortage of qualified cadres, it is difficult to give statistics on the situation. In any event, it can be said that agricultural production in the liberated areas has in many respects attained a higher level than at the time of colonial rule, despite the persistent war conditions, bombing raids and spraying of chemical agents. Four varieties of cereal, three tubers, six vegetables and as many oil plants make up the bulk of agricultural productions.

This activity is combined with livestock raising. Small-scale livestock raising, especially chicken breeding, is very widespread. Almost every family keeps chickens and many also have ducks. Pig breeding is quite important in Cabo Delgado and Tete provinces, but rarer in Niassa, where a substantial sector of the population is Muslim. Also worthy of note is goat raising, especially in Tete province. Cattle raising is practised only in Tete, where the overwhelming majority of the people have cattle which are also used as draught animals. Bee-keeping is also practised in all the provinces.

All these activities produce exportable surpluses. It should be noted, however, that only the export of oil seeds and tobacco is permitted, the surpluses of other products being kept as reserves to face contingencies in the war situation, as well as being used to sustain new combat zones where the population and the army have not yet started production. Exports from Cabo Delgado Province are already well organised whereas they have just started in the other provinces. The tonnage exported from Cabo Delgado last year was in the neighbourhood of one thousand tons. Sesame, castor-oil seeds, groundnuts and cashew nuts accounted for more than two-thirds of the products exported, the remainder comprising dried fish, tobacco, beewax and other products.

The development of agricultural and other



Making iron tools in liberated Mozambique

production is coming up against a series of obstacles and bottlenecks which can be listed under several headings.

1. The Crimes of the Enemy.

One of the major aims of the colonial army of aggression is to starve the population. Helicoptered troops come to sack and loot, to burn crops and granaries, and to kill cattle and poultry. The airforce drops napalm and phosphorous bombs on crops, and bombs and strafes animals. More recently, with South African help, the enemy have been using chemical agents, and the spraying has particularly affected cassava.

2. The Shortage of Selected Seeds.

The people are very often forced to use just any seeds, some of them already bearing diseases. Under such conditions, the results cannot measure up to the efforts expended. Furthermore, it sometimes happens that enemy activity creates famine conditions in certain places, forcing the people to eat the seeds.

Also, and this is the case with cotton, for example, certain crops have been stopped for lack of markets. However, there are now outlets for these products abroad and even inside our country, where we are creating the conditions for them to be absorbed. But the fact of having stopped production for sometimes as long as eight years means that the seeds have disappeared.

3. Insects and Rats.

There are many kinds of insects which

attack agricultural products from the time of sowing until the harvest, and even in the granaries. The same is true of rats. Sometimes the fields are destroyed or severely damaged.

4. Fertilisers.

The great shortage of fertilisers makes itself felt, especially in the regions most affected by bombing raids and chemical agents. Efforts we have made have successfully mobilised the people to put an end to the harmful and centuries-old practice of bush burning, thereby stopping one of the traditional scourges which ruin the soil. But it should be recognised that napalm and phosphorus bombing has more than replaced the effects of bush burning. Moreover, although the programme for using natural fertilisers from cattle has met with a certain degree of success, it is nonetheless true that cattle are not to be found everywhere and that even where they do exist, their manure output is not sufficient.

5. Animals for Livestock Raising.

Although livestock raising is an important activity in our liberated areas, it is far from meeting our minimum vital needs. On the one hand, the quality of the animals is still rather poor, and on the other, there is still not a sufficient quantity of them, especially as a result of the diseases which decimate them. For example, Newcastle Disease often attacks chickens and the tsetse fly rules out cattle-raising over large regions. Hence, the need for twofold action for supplying the population with selected animals and pro-

viding preventive medicines and vaccinations for animals.

6. Draught Animals.

One of the most serious bottlenecks in both external and internal trade is the lack of any transport facilities apart from men. A man can carry an average of 20 to 25 kilos over a distance of about 40 kilometres a day's march, which is not nearly enough for the level of production already reached or for the internal and external trade requirements of the liberated areas. One possible solution would be to use beasts of burden, especially mules and donkeys, but they are virtually non-existent in our part of Africa.

7. Craft-based Light Industries.

A number of problems which hamper the development of the liberated areas and, hence, prevent us from satisfying vital needs, can be solved through the setting up of craft-based light industries. FRELIMO has been tackling these problems since 1966 and some positive results have been achieved. Extracting salt from the sea has become a reality in many parts of Cabo Delgado and the question of making domestic utensils and certain agricultural implements has been solved almost everywhere. A start has been made in solving the problems of fishing and fish preservation.

However, this progress is far from providing the answer to our real needs. Very many problems could be solved, because the liberated areas have an abundance of raw materials and it goes without saying that internal consumption would absorb this production. This would be the case with soap-making and the establishment of rudimentary tanneries to supply craft shoe-making centres with cured skins and also with cotton spinning and weaving and the manufacture of agricultural implements on a larger scale and in a wider range. The solution of these problems requires twofold action, on the one hand obtaining the necessary tools for the liberated areas, and, on the other, training skilled and semi-skilled people in these fields.

8. Schools of Arts and Crafts.

This leads us to the question of setting up a school of arts and crafts which could train carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners, shoe-makers, weavers, tailors, etc. This school should also be able to raise the level of agricultural cooperative cadres' knowledge of agriculture and livestock raising.

9. The Basis for ECA Action.

In their resolutions and appeals, both the



The transport problem

UN General-Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, as well as many specialised agencies, have expressed the will to support our efforts in liberation and national reconstruction. Paragraph 3 of resolution 233 (X) passed at the First Meeting of the Conference of Ministers held in Tunis last year, asked the Executive Secretariat to do everything to support our efforts.

We have described our needs in the course of our speech. In other words, we have outlined those areas in which, by dint of its nature, we think the ECA could possibly help us. It is not a question of establishing a programme of ECA aid here and now. But having outlined our needs, we hope that our Conference will recommend to the Council of Ministers and other appropriate bodies support for our efforts in the fields mentioned, and we should like that it be decided that the Secretariat make a thorough study, directly with us, of ways and means of providing technical and financial assistance for programmes to be jointly established in the fields described. We would prefer to study these programmes with the Secretariat, since the shortage of

cadres typical of under-development, combined with the war conditions under which we are living, makes it impossible for us to submit our projects in a detailed and complete way. For this reason, an on-the-spot enquiry and discussion would be desirable.

10. Support for the Portuguese War Effort.

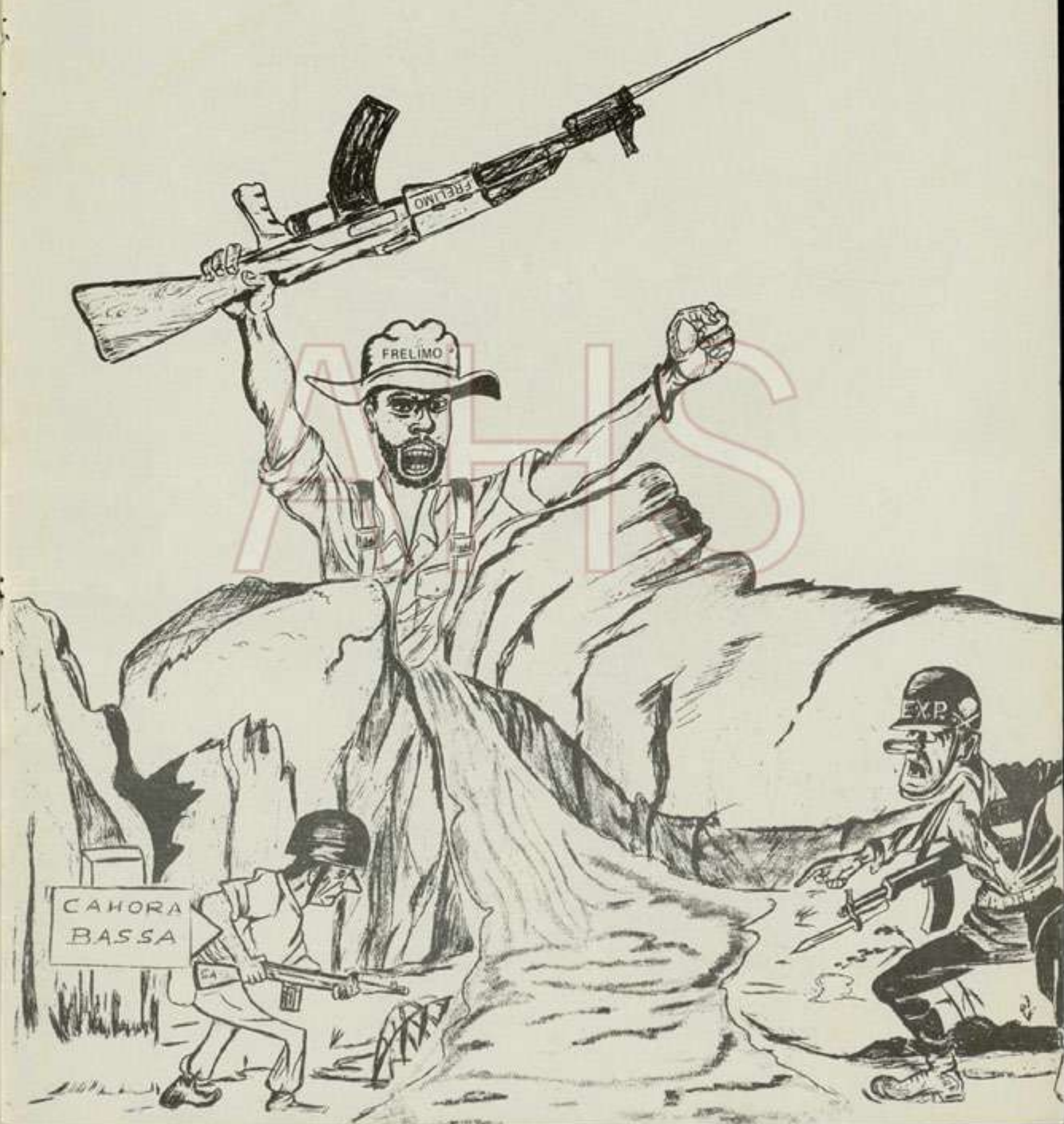
There is another field in which ECA action should and must come into play: that of blocking economic aid to Portugal, the aid which renders possible the financing of a colonial war which has exceeded its tenth year and costs some two million dollars a day. Certain western countries, particularly the United States, Federal Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Japan, bear a heavy share of the responsibility for the pursuit of the colonial war. Economic interests in those countries, stimulated by the absurdly low costs of forced labour and an ultra-liberal tax policy, are making massive investments in our countries and, in this way, associating themselves with the Portuguese colonial regime, the guarantor of their super-profits.

Several resolutions passed by the Conference were relevant to the Portuguese colonies. Among these were:

'Assistance, instead of being given only to governments, will be given both to governments and territories. The secretariat must organise studies and projects about the problems of the liberated regions of the territories still under colonial domi-

nation.'

'The conference unanimously condemned the use of forced labour in the territories occupied by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, which is closely akin to slavery.'



MOÇAMBIQUE

